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TWELFTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF MANAGERS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING,

MAY 25, 1853.

BOSTON:

PRESS OF T. R. MARVIN, 42 CONGRESS STRRET.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE MASSACHUSETTS COLONIZATION SOCIETY held its Twelfth Annual Meeting at its Office in Boston, at 12, M., on Wednesday, May 25, 1853; the Rev. Charles Brooks, Vice President, in the Chair.

The Treasurer's Report was presented and accepted.

The Auditor having declined re-election, the following officers were chosen for the year ensured, viz:

PRESIDENT.

HON. SIMON GREENLEAF, LL. D.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

REV. LEONARD WOODS, D. D. REV. E. S. GANNETT, D. D. REV. HEMAN HUMPHREY, D. D. R. A. CHAPMAN, Esq. REV. EBENEZER BURGESS, D. D. REV. CHARLES BROOKS. How. A. R. THOMPSON. WILLIAM ROPES, Esq.

SECRETARY, GENERAL AGENT, AND TREASURER.
REV. JOSEPH TRACY.

AUDITOR.

HENRY EDWARDS.

MANAGERS.

REV. G. W. BLAGDEN, D. D. DR. J. V. C. SMITH, ALBERT FEARING. T. R. MARVIN.
JAMES C. DUNN.

B. C. CLARK.
JAMES HAYWARD,
DR. WILLIAM R. LAWRENCE,
DR. DANIEL WHITE.

Adjourned, to meet at the Music Hall, at 3 P. M., for public exercises.

AFTERNOON.—The Society met according to adjournment. After appropriate remarks by the Vice President on taking the Chair, prayer was offered by the Rev. John Wheeler, D. D.

The Secretary presented the Annual Report.

B. C. CLARK, Esq. moved that the Annual Report be accepted, and referred to the Board of Managers for publication. He supported the motion in a short address. The motion was seconded by the Hon. A. R. Thomrson, and passed.

The following letter was then read by the Secretary:

Boston, May 20, 1853.

Siz:—I have the honor to acknowledge, with many thanks, the invitation of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, to attend their anniversary meeting on Wednesday, the 25th inst., and regret that it will not be in my power to be present on that occasion.

I would beg the Managers to believe that I entertain and cherish a lively interest in the success of colonizing our free people of color upon the coast of Africa, where they can enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizens, and a social position which they never could acquire in this country.

The history of the rise and progress of Liberia is very extraordinary—indeed, without a parallel in the history of the world. That Colony, together with some others on the African coast, has done much to check and diminish the slave trade; and if they are encouraged by our Government and that of Great Britain, and protected by the combined naval force now stationed there, we may hope to see that horrid traffic, at no distant day, forever exterminated.

Among the most important blessings to be derived from planting Colonies in Africa, is the prospect afforded us of Christianizing the people of that vast country. If that barbarous race is to be brought into the family of civilized nations, it must be effected through the instrumentality of Colonization,—such Colonies to be peopled from the United States;—and we are therefore, as a nation, directly interested in every effort to produce that result.

An interesting view also to be taken of this question, is that of extending our commerce, which is, I think, always the pioneer of civilization. The cultivation of a direct commerce with Liberia would soon develop some of its wonderful resources; and there seems to be no impediment in the way of creating an extensive trade with that fertile country, in a short space of time. To accomplish this object, however, it would be necessary for our government to establish a steam communication to one or more points on that coast—a project which I hoped might have met with favor when it was proposed several years since; and I anticipate that it will be again brought forward for the consideration of Congress with better success; for as a purely commercial question, it offers advantages that cannot fail to

attract the attention of both the government and the people of the United States.

I will only add, that I deem this matter of colonizing our free colored population as among the most important and interesting topics of the day. It addresses itself to all classes of the people, in every portion of the Union; to Christians, as a missionary enterprise to civilize and Christianize Africa; to the Philanthropist, as a means of arresting and finally extinguishing the slave trade, and opening a country to which our free colored population can emigrate, and where they may enjoy the blessings of civil and religious liberty like ourselves; and lastly, it speaks to the Merchant, whose mind embraces the whole world in the pursuit of his occupation, who is always on the watch to open new avenues of commercial intercourse, and who is usually the first to discover and visit the various tribes of the human race, wherever they are to be found.

I have thus very briefly touched upon some of the points which induce me to favor the objects of the Massachusetts Colonization Society; and I now beg to offer, for the acceptance of the Board of Managers, the sum of five hundred dollars, to be appropriated as they may deem advisable in promoting the best interests of the Society.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obt. servant.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

The Rev. JOSEPH TRACY.

The Society was then addressed, for about an hour, on the general subject of Colonization, by the Hon. John H. B. LATROBE, of Baltimore, President of the American Colonization Society.

The meeting was then closed with the benediction, by the Rev. Dr. Wheeler.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I. This Association shall be called THE MASSACHUSETTS COL-ONIZATION SOCIETY, and shall be auxiliary to the American Colonization Society;—and its sole object shall be, to colonize, on the coast of Africa, free people of color, with their own consent.

ART. II. All members of any County Colonization Societies in Massachusetts shall be members of this Society; and all persons who pay two dollars a year shall be members; and all who shall pay thirty dollars at one time, shall be Life Members of this Society.

ART. III. The officers of the Society shall be a President, three or more Vice Presidents, Corresponding Secretary and General Agent, Treasurer, Auditors, and a Board of Managers, which shall consist of nine persons, five of whom shall form a quorum. The Corresponding Secretary and General Agent shall act under the advice and direction of the Board of Managers. The Board of Managers shall have power to fill any vacancies which may occur between the annual meetings, in the officers of the Society; and shall direct the Treasurer to pay over to the American Colonization Society, or other kindred institutions, such sums as may be in the Treasury from time to time, and for such specific objects as they may deem most worthy of support; and to pursue any other measures which the interests of the Society may require.

ART. IV. There shall be an annual meeting of the Society in Boston, on Wednesday of the week of the religious anniversaries, at 3 o'clock, P. M., or at such other time as the Board of Managers may appoint; when the officers shall be chosen, the Treasurer shall render an account of his receipts and disbursements, and the Board of Managers shall make a Report of their doings.

ART. V. This Constitution may be altered or amended at any annual meeting of the Society, on recommendation of the Board of Managers.

ANNUAL REPORT.

HOME PROCEEDINGS.

Finances.

During the financial year ending April 29, 1853, this Society has received from various sources, \$9,241 92. The disbursements have been \$9,224 37, leaving a balance in the Treasury of \$17 55.

Of the receipts, \$2,711 was from an unknown friend, for the Colonization of emancipated slaves; and \$1,000 was from a member of the Board of Managers, for the same purpose. A few smaller donations have also been made expressly for that use. The amount of legacies has been only \$425. The receipts also include \$325 borrowed of a member of the Board of Managers, to meet a special exigency.

Emancipations.

In the Report for last year, mention was made of eleven slaves in Georgia, sixteen in Virginia, and twenty-two in Missouri, whose freedom this Society had undertaken to secure, by paying the expense of their emigration, and who had sailed from Norfolk on the 5th of May,—after the commencement of the present financial year. The expense of these forty-nine emigrants has been met, by funds received for that express purpose from an unknown source. Besides these, the Society undertook to meet the expense of colonizing "about half" of the slaves of the Hon. William E. Kennedy, of Maury Co., Tennessee. The whole number of his slaves was more than sixty, and it was proposed that the remainder should emigrate in about a year afterwards. Only twenty-six, however, were ready at the time appointed. They embarked at New Orleans, December 31, in the ship Zebra. The greater part of the expense of these also has been paid, but a portion still remains due to the American Colonization Society. The whole

number of slaves thus emancipated, in these four companies, is seventy-five.

The sixteen from Virginia were emancipated by Mr. John Calloway, who has about eighty others, who are to be emancipated in the same way. Mr. Kennedy has still remaining, between thirty and forty. Here are from 110 to 120, for whom the Society is not pledged, but for whom its aid will naturally be expected and asked, and upon application, which may be received any day, cannot well be refused. And if these should not need our aid this year, it will be needed by others; for the extent to which this work may be carried, is limited only by the amount of our means.

The Parent Society.

During the year 1852, the Parent Society sent out 666 emigrants; of whom 403 were free born, 225 were emancipated for the purpose, and 38 purchased their own freedom. The number emancipated, 225, includes the 75 already mentioned. The emigration was ten less than in 1851. The diminution, however, is only apparent, arising from slight irregularities in the time of sailing. The number from April 30, 1851, to April 30, 1852, was 442; from April 30, 1852, to April 30, 1853, was 838; showing an increase of 376. This great apparent increase arises partly from the fact, that the first Spring expedition, last year, sailed May 5, while this year it sailed April 25, bringing both into one year's account.

The whole number of emigrants, to December 31, 1852, was 7,457; of whom 3,123 were born free; 242 became free by purchase, the greater part of whom purchased themselves from their own earnings; and 4,092 were gratuitously emancipated in order that they might emigrate. The whole number of emigrants to April 30, 1853, has been 7,682.

Besides these, nearly 1,000 have been rescued from slave ships and barracoons on the African Coast, and about 1,000 have emigrated to Cape Palmas, under the patronage of the Maryland Colonization Society. Adding these, it will be seen that the whole number colonized is nearly 10,000.

LIBERIA.

Relations with Brazil, Prussia, Belgium, and the United States.

The Liberian Government has made very gratifying progress during the year, in the arrangement of its foreign relations. The Brazilian minister spent the greater part of the year there, and on the most friendly terms. Prussia and Belgium have completed the last formalities of their recognition of Liberian Independence; the former, by a visit of a man-of-war. We regret that our own government has not made some progress in the same direction. But the case still remains as it was. Our government, by one public act after another, always of a friendly character, shows, from time to time, its knowledge of the fact that Liberia is a Republic, having rightfully all the attributes of a sovereign state; but still defers, or neglects, the open and complete establishment of diplomatic relations.

Relations with Great Britian and the Bassa Rebels .- France.

The relations of the Republic with Great Britain and the native tribes, have been such as to call forth all the wisdom and energy of its government. At its commencement, the rebellion of Grando the Fishman, and Boyer of Tradetown, had just been quelled. This rebellion had been encouraged by certain British traders, who denied the jurisdiction of Liberia over that part of the Bassa country, facilitated the negotiations of the rebel chiefs and the raising of forces, helped them plan their campaign, and furnished arms and ammunition for the war. One of them, Capt. Lawrence, was indicted and held to trial before the courts of the Republic, for the part he had acted in this rebellion. The British Consul, Hanson, an educated native of the Gold Coast, exerted himself in favor of his fellow subjects. The British Admiral was induced to interfere, and insisted that all legal proceedings should be stayed, till the whole subject could be referred to the British Government.

President Roberts found it necessary, therefore, to visit England, where he received kind and valuable attentions from several English and American friends, among whom our distinguished fellow citizen. the American Minister, deserves particularly to be mentioned. The British Government received him courteously, and, after a thorough examination of the points in dispute, settled all to his satisfaction. The Government promised to remove the consul from office; acknowledged anew the rightful jurisdiction of Liberia over all the territory she claimed; withdrew the demand, that the prosecution of the offending trader should be stopped; requested his discharge as a favor, and promised to caution British subjects against repeating his offence. The favor was granted. Having completed his business in England, visited France, and held friendly and advantageous intercourse with its Government, he returned to Liberia in a British ship-of-war, kindly furnished for his use. Meanwhile, Grando and Boyer took advantage of this delay, to plan for their own safety. The former is a fugitive, or rather, it is reported, a prisoner, among his own people on a distant part of the coast. The latter, stripped of nearly all his power and

influence, is trembling for his safety, and begging for reconciliation with the Republic.

Relations with the Vey Tribes.—Attempts to Revice the Slave Trade.

British Emigration to the West Indies.

In the newly acquired territory on the north, the perpetual peace, agreed upon by the congress of chiefs held just before the close of the last year, has not been enjoyed. Several chiefs, formerly customers of the great slave mart at Gallinas, have violated the pledges then given, and made incursions upon their neighbors. Some blood has been shed, and some have been carried away into captivity.

It is quite possible that these disturbances have had some connection with the operations of Don Crispo, formerly a slave trader at Gallinas, who has been lurking in the interior of Gallinas and Sherbro for a year or more. If, as is reported, slaves have been shipped from that part of the coast during the year, it was doubtless by his agency, as it could be done only by a smuggling process, aided by an agent residing in the country. Near the close of 1852, he had about one hundred and ten slaves ready for shipment, in a barracoon at Balbah, in the Sherbro country, somewhere between Kaw Mendi and the ocean. By order of Admiral Bruce, Commander Phillips, of the British steam-sloop Polyphemus, attacked and burned the barracoon, and rescued ten of the slaves; but Crispo escaped with the remainder. In February, he was at a place about thirty miles inland from Gallinas.

When Gallinas was purchased, and thus brought under the jurisdiction of a Republic which prohibits the slave trade, it is known that the traders there had a large number of slaves on hand. Their number has been estimated as high as 2,000 or 3,000. Crispo seems to have remained in the region to take care of this "property," and to smuggle some of it out of the country if possible. Even if he did not wish to increase their number by new purchases, it may have been his policy to keep that whole region in a disturbed state, and as many of his old customers as he could, in an attitude of war, thinking that he might thus more easily keep his slaves in subjection, and in the confusion, find some opportunity for shipping them. It is at least certain that some of those chiefs have still under their control, slaves who were intended for the market at Gallinas; and that, in violation of their repeated engagements, they have increased their number by hostile incursions on other tribes.

At this point, the history of these events becomes connected with some very remarkable proceedings of one of the first powers in Christendom. The British Government, it is well known, has for several years been engaged in efforts to provide cheap free laborers

for her sugar and coffee planters in the West Indies; as the emancipated slaves of those colonies demand higher wages than the planters can afford to pay. To supply this want of chest labor, coolies have been from the East Indies, Chinese have been hired, and laborers have been urged to emigrate from the United States; but the principal reliance has been on voluntary emigrants from Africa. Africans rescued from slave ships have been landed at Sierra Leone or St. Helena; and after recovering health and strength, have been told that they must go voluntarily to the West Indies for a term of years as free laborers, or take care of themselves. As they could not well take care of themselves in a strange country already overstocked with laborers, they have been obliged to volunteer as emigrants to the West Indies. Besides these, some Kroomen and others have been induced to emigrate. Persevering attempts have been made to induce Liberians to emigrate; and two men from Cape Palmas were finally persuaded to visit the West Indies, to procure information on the subject. Their speedy return and their report put an end to such efforts. Still, it was hoped that natives, under Liberian jurisdiction, might be induced to emigrate; and Messrs. Hyde, Hodge & Co., of London, contractors with the British Government to furnish laborers from Africa for the West Indies, sent some of their ships to the disturbed region around Grand Cape Mount and Gallinas, where their agents offered an advance of ten dollars,—nearly the amount formerly paid for slaves,-for every person who might be induced to emigrate. A complaint was made to the Liberian Government, stating that certain refractory chiefs of the disturbed district around Grand Cape Mount, who were known to have slaves and prisoners of whom they wished to dispose, had contracted with the agents of Hyde, Hodge & Co. to furnish laborers for emigration, and that persons were held in durance, to be shipped to the West Indies without their own consent or that of their natural guardians. President Roberts therefore issued a proclamation, dated February 26, 1853, requiring, under severe penalties, every vessel carrying emigrants to come to Monrovia and obtain passports according to law. that the government might be able to ascertain whether the emigration was free or constrained.

It is not to be suspected for a moment, that the British Government intended to encourage a disguised slave trade. There is no evidence that the London contractors had any fraudulent intentions. Nor is it certain that their agents on the coast understood how their emigrants would be induced to volunteer. Yet it is plain that, without some such interference, Crispo and his allies might have disposed of their whole stock of slaves at ten dollars each; and that one such successful operation would have encouraged the refractory chiefs

to engage in other wars, to make other captives, to be disposed of in the same way.

All other efforts to secure the tranquillity of the northern territory having failed, the President summoned several of the offending chiefs to meet him on the 1st of March at Little Cape Mount, about twenty-five miles from Monrovia; for which place he sailed the same day, in the government schooner Lark, with an armed force of two hundred men. He returned after an absence of eight days, having arrested Boombo, the principal offender, and about fifty of his followers, without a conflict. March 14 was appointed for a general congress of chiefs of the disturbed district at Monrovia, for the final settlement of all disputes; and there was a good prospect of a permanent peace.

Suppression of the Slave Trade .- Need of new Settlements.

These transactions show us, in what sense the slave trade has been suppressed. It has every where been made unlawful. Not only is every slave ship liable to capture and condemnation, but there is no spot on shore where a barracoon can be erected and slaves collected for shipment under African law. The trade can be carried on only by smuggling and evasions. But the slave traders, both African and foreign, still exist, and are on the watch for opportunities. Africa is full of slaves, whom their masters would gladly sell, and of chiefs, eager to make war on their neighbors, if they can see any chance to dispose of their captives; while slave ships hover on the coast, and their agents are skulking about on shore, in search of some unguarded point where a shipment can be made. To extinguish these hopes effectually in the territory of the Republic north of Monrovia. at least three new settlements are needed; one at Grand Cape Mount. one at or near Gallinas, and one at Manna Point, or some other point on the Sherbro; and each should be strong enough to exert a controlling influence over the natives in its vicinity. For this purpose, the Society should be enabled to send out fifteen hundred emigrants. at an expense of \$90,000, this very year, besides carrying on all its other operations. At least, one third of this work should be done. There should be a settlement five hundred strong at Grand Cape Mount: which, with a little more British vigilance at Sherbro, where the jurisdiction of the Republic terminates, would leave but small chance for smuggling.

Internal Affairs.—Industrial Prosperity.

Notwithstanding all these embarrassments, the internal affairs of the Republic have been prosperous. Health and plenty have prevailed. Agriculture and commerce have increased. The revenue has risen to \$21,355. Town lots in Monrovia, of a quarter of an acre, have been sold for \$500; and others could not be purchased at that price. During the months of December, January and February, the dullest part of the year, the sales of merchandize at Monrovia had amounted to at least \$60,000; and it was estimated that nearly half a million would be required for that port alone, for the next ten months. The establishment of a monthly line of steam packets from England, which touch at Monrovia both going and returning, had given a new impulse to trade. The line is to be semi-monthly when completed.

One of the most enterprising firms in Monrovia is that of John B. Jordan & Co.; the other partner being John W. Roberts, brother of the President, and son-in-law of the old veteran, Elijah Johnson. Mr. Jordan was a slave in New Orleans, educated as a book-keeper; and afte: his emancipation, was employed in that capacity in a large commercial establishment on a salary of \$1,000 a year. Not satisfied with any position he could hope to attain in this country, he came to the north, visited New York and Boston, formed acquaintance and made business arrangements with commercial houses, and sailed, with his family, whose freedom he had procured, for Liberia, October 4, in the Oriole. November 29, he had arrived and entered into partnership with Mr. Roberts. January 10, he had received about \$5,000 for goods sold, had shipped 3,899 gallons of palm oil to England, and was waiting for an opportunity to ship a large amount of camwood and oil to New York.

J. M. Richardson, from Williamsburgh, N. Y., aged 32, was another emigrant by the Oriole, taking with him goods worth \$800. February 13th he had recovered from the acclimating fever; bought \$500 worth of goods and paid for them; bought ten bullocks; bought one hundred bushels of rice, which he was keeping on speculation; bought fifty pounds of ivory; had on hand six tons of camwood, which would be increased to ten tons and shipped to England within a month; had \$1,000 worth of goods on his shelves, and should send \$1,000 to New York for more goc's. "If a man has shalf what I had," he writes, "he would soon get rich, if he conducted himself aright." He was trying to buy seven thousand coffee scions to plant in April; but the demand was so great that he feared he should not be able to get more than one thousand.

Allen Hooper, from New York, had been there about two years. He had 2,000 coffee trees in bearing, and 5,000 more expected to bear the next year.

Abraham Blackledge, an older settler, was making 12,000 pounds

of sugar this year. The whole sugar crop on the St. Paul's was estimated at 30,000 pounds.

These are specimens of business in Mesurado County. Bassa and Sinoe are said to be equally prosperous. In each of the latter, a steam saw-mill has gone into operation, with satisfactory results.

Education.

The means of education have been improved, by the opening of the Methodist High School at Monrovia, and by the introduction of a more thorough course of training into all the seminaries. Seven of the students are aided by the Fund for Scholarships, held by the New York Colonization Society, and the number was soon to be increased to fifteen. Some will probably be prepared to enter on a collegiate course of study within the year. "Liberia College" has already been incorporated; and the "Trustees of Donations for Education in Liberia" are laboring industriously to procure for it, such instructors as will be needed at its commencement. Though the funds of this last named institution have increased somewhat less than \$4,000 during the year, yet its annual income is sufficient to meet the estimated expense of instructing one or two small classes; and the prospects of its farther increase, in proportion to the growing demands upon it, are quite satisfactory.

UNITED STATES.

Progress of Public Sentiment.

In our own country, public sentiment is becoming more generally and more decidedly favorable to Colonization. Multitudes, however, seem to have become our friends only in theory, while in practice they are inactive. Yet the receipts of the National Society from donations show an increase of active friends. Exclusive of legacies, payments by masters on account of their own emancipated slaves, compensation from the United States for services rendered, and other sources of revenue which are more irregular in their amount, the donations received by that Society in 1850 were \$22,893 10. In 1851, they were \$25,801 40; showing an increase of \$2,908 30. In 1852, they were \$33,387 30; showing an increase of \$7,585 90. And this increase seems, on inspection of the accounts, to come from nearly all parts of the country that have ever contributed. Of all the northern States, the advance seems to be greatest in Connecticut,

where, the Agent of the Society says, "the pulpits are open to this subject, I trust, to be closed no more."

We regret that language equally strong cannot yet be applied to Massachusetts. Many pulpits are open, and many pastors render us hearty and valuable aid, for which they have our thanks. But pastors are numerous, who, though they admit the usefulness of our labors, find reasons satisfactory to themselves for refusing, or at least for deferring, from time to time, indefinitely, the use of their pulpits. The reasons assigned are various; but the reason most generally operating seems to be this: that the applications of agents are very numerous, and pastors find it necessary to refuse or defer as many of them as they can; and therefore pastors who have no adequate conception of the importance of our labors, put us among the last to be admitted, which is practically equivalent to not admitting us at all. But for this hinderance from so many pastors, our collections might be greatly increased the coming year; for their people are ready to hear, and having heard, to aid us.

Colonization by the General Government.

Another hinderance in the collection of funds is the theory, that the Government of the United States ought to take up the work of Colonization, and carry it on to its completion at the expense of the national treasury. This theory is supported by such plausible arguments, has the sanction of such illustrious names, and has been so much commended, in former years, and in the publications of the National Society, that it deserves a serious examination; especially as every collecting agent frequently meets able and intelligent men, who are willing to be taxed for the accomplishment of the object by the General Government, but refuse to contribute anything towards the feeble movements of a Society.

Against this theory we urge, first, that, whatever may have been the prospect twenty or thirty years ago, it is, in the present state of affairs, and in any state of affairs which we can reasonably anticipate, manifestly impracticable.

In order to secure the northern vote in Congress in favor of a scheme of Colonization at the national expense, that scheme must be distinctly understood to include the ultimate removal of slavery. It may not be necessary that it include the emancipation of slaves by act of Congress; but it must be understood to include a reasonable certainty of their emancipation in some way; and this motive must stand out so prominently, that northern representatives can appeal to it, in justifying their votes to their constituents. A scheme of Colonization, expected to end with relieving the several States, at the

national expense, of the alleged evil of their present free colored population, could scarcely receive a single northern vote. A scheme which should not avow a further design as its leading motive, would be voted down by an overwhelming majority; and we are not prepared to say that the majority would be wrong.

On the other hand, a scheme which should openly contemplate the abolition of slavery throughout the United States by the direct or indirect action of the General Government, would be unamimously opposed by the entire South. Southern representatives would vote for no scheine, of which they could not assure and convince their constituents, that it had no such motive. Every State in which slavery exists, will insist that the General Government shall not interfere, either directly or indirectly, with the question of its continuance. Nor are we prepared to say that they ought not to insist upon it.

It is impossible, therefore, to unite northern and southern representatives in any one scheme of Colonization at the national expense; for the conditions indispensable to secure the vote of the one, would secure its rejection by the other. If the north could be entirely unanimous, and carry its scheme by a small majority, the whole south would unite in defeating the execution of the law; which, having entire control over the colored population, bond and free, within their own limits, they could easily do, without resorting to secession; and some of those States, if not all, would resort to secession, sooner than allow such a law to be executed. But there is little danger of such a conflict. All experience proves that there is, both in the north and the south, so much mutual kindness and consideration for each other's rights, interest and wishes, that neither can be made perfectly unanimous in carrying a measure against which the other unanimously protests; especially where the constitutional right is disputed, and the union of the States may be endangered. No such law, therefore, can be passed.

We urge, secondly, that the transfer of this work from a Society to the General Government, if practicable, would be inexpedient, for many reasons. One is, the probability that its effect on the minds of the colored people themselves would be bad. They would probably regard it as a combined, unfriendly movement of the white population, to expel them from the country. They would, therefore, resist it as long as desperation could keep the hope of successful resistance alive; and if, sooner or later, they should yield a constrained and sulky submission, as to invincible enemies, they would be in the worst possible state of mind for the successful colonization of Africa.

It would be inexpedient, too, because, in the hands of the General Government, the work must inevitably become involved with party politics. It must be a large operation. There must be commissioners of emigration, by that or some other title, with salaries large enough to tempt demagogues. There must be fat contracts, in executing which, speculators who are on the right side in politics, can get rich, cheating the Government on one side and the emigrants on the other. In the hands of the Government, it is scarcely possible that the work should fail to be expensively and badly done.

We urge, as a third objection, that the assumption of this work by the General Government is unnecessary. Some have said, that the work is too great for any society to accomplish. But a well constituted, well managed society can conduct very large operations, safely and successfully. There are several benevolent societies in the United States and in England, which collect and expend incomes of \$300,000. \$400,000, and \$500,000 annually, and whose work is well done. The colonizing of \$10,000 emigrants a year, at an expense of \$500,000, is not too large a work for a society to manage, as abundant experience in other forms of benevolent effort has proved; and no experience has yet proved that such a society cannot, safely and successfully, conduct a still larger business. But however that may be, there is no reason to doubt that, before it reaches that magnitude, the work will cease to need conducting. It will go on of itself, and manage and regulate itself, like the present emigration from Europe to America. We do not say that the work will go on till the whole colored population is removed to Africa. That may be, or it may not be. Time will determine it. They will go, till this country feels the need of retaining the services of the remainder, and offers them better inducements to stay, than Africa offers them to come. They will find the place, on either continent, where they are most wanted, and can do best for themselves; and there they will make their home. And this, we doubt not, will be true of those now in bondage, as well as those now free. Some,-how many, we neither know nor care,-will probably be induced to remain in this country; but present appearances indicate, that a vast majority will find it for their interest to emigrate, and will act accordingly.

We abandon, therefore, without regret, the expectation that the General Government will take the work into its own hands.

The General Government has rendered us important aid, by paying us money honestly earned in taking care of Africans whom its cruisers had rescued from slave ships, and for whom it was unable suitably to provide in any other way. It may have other opportunities to do the same. It has aided us, by many friendly acts of its squadron on the coast; and may continue to do so. It may aid us, also, by extending to the Republic of Liberia that national courtesy which is just, which

the best interests of both nations require, and which is essential to their most efficient co-operation in suppressing the slave trade. Such assistance it is proper for the Government to afford, and for us gratefully to acknowledge; but the assumption of the work, to be carried on by the Government itself, we neither expect nor desire.

Colonization by the several States.

The action of the several States, aiding the societies by furnishing funds on certain conditions, is free from some of these objections, and may be so conducted as to be free from all of them. In Maryland, the State has furnished the Society with \$10,000 annually, for twenty years, and has voted to continue the appropriation for six years more. The Society has been well managed, and the result has been good; except that private contributions have been small, most men feeling that they did their part through the State treasury. The annual appropriation of \$30,000 and more, by the State of Virginia, to be paid to the State Society on certain conditions, will probably operate well; as the law has been amended, so as to allow fifty dollars for each emigrant, which will nearly cover the expense.

But in order to the success of State action, two conditions must be strictly observed. In the first place, it must not be, either in form or in effect, compulsory. So far as the action of the Society is concerned, this is already secured. Its charter authorizes it to hold and expend funds for colonizing the free people of color "with their own consent: and for no other purpose whatever." To this restriction the Society must conform in entire good faith, or forfeit its charter. aiding in compulsory colonization, it would commit suicide. States, if they would be successful in their work, must act on the same principle. There may, perhaps, be cases where it is lawful to force benefits on men against their wills; but this is not one of them. That Colonization may be successful, the colonists must enter into the work of their own choice, and heartily. That aid in the enterprise may do them good, it must come from those who are seen and understood to offer it in a friendly spirit. A system of compulsory colonization would place the parties in the attitude of enemies to each other, and thus excite in both, feelings eminently hostile to success.

A second condition of success is, that the States employ agents who are practically acquainted with the business, and permit them to arrange the details. They may employ the National Society, or the State Societies, acting in consultation and co-operation with the National. In no other way can they secure themselves against a repetition of the errors which an experience of thirty years has taught the Society to avoid. In no other way can the necessary

unity of operation be secured. States, acting separately from the societies, or State societies acting separately from the National, will be exceedingly liable to adopt plans which will thwart each other, and the African part of which will prove impracticable.

On this point, the experience of State societies is full of warning. There have been magnificent projects for an "Ohio in Liberia," and a "Kentucky in Liberia," and a "Virginia in Liberia;" some of which have begun to be executed, as nearly as the circumstances of that country permit, -which is by no means very nearly. As when eastern men advertise building lots in lithographic cities at the West, and emigrants, when they arrive in the vicinity, examine the country for themselves, and settle where their own interest requires, leaving those cities still undiscoverable except on paper, so it is, and so it must be, in Liberia. The emigrants, on their arrival, are free men. and care more about their own safety, comfort and success, than about realizing the magnificent schemes of projectors in the country which they have left. Nor can the Government of Liberia be reasonably expected to embarrass its finances and endanger the interests, and even the lives of its citizens, by attempting the literal execution of visionary and impracticable plans, ignorantly laid in America. The States, therefore, should leave all the African details of the work to the discretion of those whose experience has enabled them to understand it; only requiring, from time to time, suitable evidence that their funds are well laid out.

The Maryland Colony forms an apparent exception to these remarks; in part, because it was planted on territory outside of the Republic of Liberia, thus avoiding all possibility of collision of land titles; in part, because it has been sustained by an appropriation of \$10,000 a year from the State treasury; but chiefly, because its planning and execution have, from the beginning, been in the hands of men who had previously acquired, by personal experience, a most intimate knowledge of Colonization in all its departments, both in the United States and in Africa, and who have always acted in such habitnal consultation with the National Society, as was necessary to avoid collision and render mutual aid. Nor did these men engage in separate State action because they thought it preferable, but because they were driven to it by the peculiar circumstances of the time. Nor are they desirous to continue it any longer than is necessary, to arrange a union which shall secure the existing interests of all concerned.

These conditions being observed, States may advantageously engage in the work, each providing for such of its own colored people as desire to emigrate. And there is reason to believe that many of them will do it. Besides some of the Southern States, New Jersey and Pennsylvania have appropriated \$2,000 each for this purpose. Indiana has appropriated \$5,000; but her appropriating act needs some amendments. The Legislature of Connecticut has the subject now under consideration.

But after all, our main reliance should be, on private beneficence. The Society should not, if it could, become a mere disbursing agent for the States. It should have an income of its own, sufficient to give it the power of independent action, on a scale large enough to command respect. Otherwise, it will not be able to exert that influence over opinions in all the States, which is necessary to secure united and harmonious action. If Christian benevolence can fill its treasury and Christian wisdom guide its councils, and thereby guide all other councils on the subject, the work will be safely conducted to a happy issue.

Since this Report was presented, information has been received by way of England, and confirmed by an arrival at Boston direct from the coast of Africa, of the arrest of Don Crispo, mentioned on page 10. The British account adds, that seventy-five of the Sierra Leone people, who had been sold as slaves, had been recovered, and that fifteen persons were under arrest for selling them. If it be true, as this account seems to indicate, that C ispo had inveigled British subjects, in a colony planted and sustained for the express purpose of suppressing the slave trade, into the crime of selling each other, his audacity, as well as his ability, must be very uncommon. His arrest, even if he should escape conviction, will do much for the peace of the country.

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By the payment of \$30 or more, by themselves, or by others on their behalf.

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N. B. When the same person has made two donations within the financial year,—as for example, one in May, 1852, and another in April, 1853,—the amount of both is acknowledged. Donations received since April 30, 1853, will appear in the Report for next year. Besides the sums here acknowledged, sundry donors have remitted their donations directly to the Parent Society at Washington, and they have been acknowledged in the African Repository. Payments for the Repository are acknowledged in that publication, and are not in this list.

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John Wells, Esq. 5 00-40 75 N. Brooks. 2 00	
Combidded Lord Speeds 10 00 William Muses 100	
Charles Beats, 1000 William Wallet, 100	
H. W. Longfellow, 5 00 Nehemiah Ball, 2 00 J. Parker, 5 00—30 00 John Brown, Jr. 2 00	
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West, Collection, by Rev. F. Horton, 33 03 Mrs. L. P. Heywood, 1 00 Charlestown, J. Warren Merrill, 3 00 Mrs. Julia Gleason, 2 00—3	
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Jacob Foss, 10 00 Georgetown, J. Russell, 1 00	
Thomas Greenleaf, 10 00 Asa Nelson, 3 00	
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Charles Foster, 5 00 Moses Carter, 1 00	
A. W. Crowningshield, 5 00 Joseph Little, 3 00 E. Lawrence, 5 00 Joseph P. Stickney, 1 00 A. Carlon, 5 00 George Foot, 1 00	
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N. & P. Hill, 5 00 Harriet Boardman, 50	
T. Marshall, 5 00 Sarah Braman, 1 00	
George Hyde. 5 00 John Perley. 5 00 James W. Francis, 2 00 David M. Winter, 3 00 C. Adams, 3 00 Mrs. D. M. Winter, 2 00	
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C. Adams, 3 00 Mrs. D. M. Winter, 2 00 F. W. Pearson, 3 00 H. W. Trask, 1 00 C. A. Ward, 3 00 L. W. Bateman, 1 00	
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H. S. Doane, 2 00 Haskell Perley, 1 00	
S. G. Underhill, 2 00 R. Tenney, 1 00 J. J. Wetherbee, 3 00 Charles S. Tenney, 1 00 Moses G. Cobb, 2 00 G. W. Chapman, 50	
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Moses G. Cobb. 2 00 G. W. Chapman. 50	
James W. Francis, 2 00 C. Adams, 3 00 F. W. Pearson, 3 00 C. A. Ward, 3 00 James F. Tufus, 3 00 J. W. Bateman, 1 00 H. W. Trask, 1 00 H. W. Trask, <td></td>	
Thomas Doane, 1 00 M. H. Spofford, 50	
Joseph Carter, 2 00 Ann M. Estes, 25	1
Henry Turner, 1 00 Rev. John M. Priace. 1 50-3	5 50
Elias Crafts. 1 00 Groton, Union Ch. and Society.	00
Elijah Beal, 1 00 Hadley, Gen. Beney, Soc. Third Ch. 2	383
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William Emerson,	1 00	Horace Rice,	1 00
Louisa D. Whitcomb,	10 00	E. R. Balch,	1 00-36 10
Seth Nason,	5 00	Lewell, Mrs. O. M. Whipple,	5 00
Luke Pollard, Jr.	1 00	Mrs. C. A. Babcock,	2 00
Henry B. Pearson,	30 00	Horace Howard,	5 00
Dea. Reuben Whitcomb,	10 00-112 00		25 00
Haverhill, Miss Lydia White,	5 00	Charles A. Babcock,	10 00
E. T. Ingails,	2 00	Daniel Cushing.	5 90
N. S. Howe,	1.00	William S. Southworth,	5 00
J. P. Randall,	1 00	Samuel Burbank,	5 00
George Ames,	2 06	H. B. Shattuck,	1 00
F. Brickett,	1 00	J. K. Chase,	2 00 5 00
William Lucy,	1 00	S. G. Mack,	5 00
David Marsh,	5 00	John Fisk,	5 00
Mrs. Isaac Howe,	1 00	Cash,	1 00
Mrs. Alfred Kittridge,	3 00	William Nichols,	2 00
Mrs. E. I. M. Hale,	5 00	H. Dickey,	2 00
Benjamin Emerson,	1 00	E. Huntington,	2 00
R. G. Walker,	2 00	J. C. Shapleigh,	1 00
P. Cariton,	1 00	Charles Ward,	1 00
Joseph H. Carlton,	2 00	William Spencer,	2 00-86 00
Thomas Lancaster,	2 00	Lynn, Coll. in Central Church,	11 00
Abel Chase,	25-35 25	First Parish Sab. Gift Soc.	53 90
Hingham, Hawkes Fearing,	4 00	Isaiah Breed,	30 00-94 90
Kennebunk, Me., Coll. Unit. Ch	ureh,	Manchester, Eng., A. S. Thorn	ton, 2500
Rev. J. A. Swan,	23 00	Manchester, Martha Lee,	1 00
Lancaster, George Cummings,	10 00	Abraham Goldsmith,	25
George Dodge,	5 00	Sarah Allen,	2 00
Friend.	3 00	Mrs. L.C. Lord,	1 00
Cyrus Merrick,	5 00	Mrs. A. H. Trask,	1 00
Friend,	2 00	John P. Allen,	50
Mrs. — White,	50	Dr. Asa Story,	1 00
Mrs. — White, Miss — Stone,	50-26 00	William Johnson,	1 00
Leicester, Leander Warren,	1 00	Dr. J. L. Colby,	1 00
L. Woodcock,	2 00	Dr. J. L. Colby, R. W. Lang,	50
J. Woodcock,	1 00	Cash,	25
Dwight Biscoe,	2 00	Daniel L. Leach, Jr.	25
Joseph Murdock,	3 00	Luther Allen, George Taylor,	1 00
J. A. Dewey,	5 00	George Taylor,	25
B. Upham,	1 00	Moses Little.	25
Isaac Southgate,	5 00	William Dodge,	50
Chency Hatch, John Woodcock, D. E. Merriam,	2 00	Charles Lee,	1 00
John Woodcock,	5 00	George S. Allen,	50
D. E. Merriam,	1 00-28 00	J. Dexter,	1 00
Leominster, Mary Newman, Rev. A. Smith,	5 (0)	Capt. S. Knight,	50
Rev. A. Smith,	1 00	Thomas P. Gentlee,	1 00
Cash,	50	Cash,	50-16 25
Mrs. — Strong, Mrs. — Newman,	50	Marblehead, Mrs. William Reed	
Mrs. — Newman,	50	Collection in Rev. E. A. Lav	V-
J. S. Darling,	1 00	rence's Society, Medford, James S. Stone,	60 00-80 00
Mary Lincoln,	1 00	Medford, James S. Stone,	10 00
Roxana Burrage,	1 00	Dr. Daniel Swan,	50 00
Sophia Woodbury,	50	Mrs. Sarah Swan,	50 00
William Durant,	1 00	Dudley Hall, Medway, J. C. Hurd and wife,	20 00-130 00
Ward M. Colton,	1 00	Medicay, J. C. Hura and wife,	30 90
J. M. Fietcher,	1 00	Metrose, Isauc Emerson,	2 00
James Fletcher,	1 00	Middleton, Contribution,	6 75
Cash,	25	Monson, Rev. A. Ely, D. D.,	3 00
Margarett Newman,	3 00	Mrs. S G Ely,	1 00
Ann Newman,	1 00	Mrs. Sarah Flynt,	1 00
Susan Newman,	1 00	Mrs. Oril Burt,	1 00 2 00
B. M. Spaulding,	25	D. D. Moody,	
C. F. Parker,	50 1 00	Albert Norcross,	3 00 1 00
E. Prescott,		C. H. Merrick,	1 00
T. C. Litchfield.	50 1 00	R. F. Fay,	1 00
2. R. Biane'ard,	1 00	H. Lyon,	3 00
Dea J. Boutelle,	50	S. B. Norcross,	1 00 25
alrs. Clark,	30 10	A. D. Norcross,	1 00
Cash,	1 00	Alfred Norcross,	1 00
W.liiom Poutelle,	1 00	Henry Gates, L. F. Newton,	3 00
Amos Hawes,	5 00	Henry Cady,	1 50
Leonard Burrage, William A. Nichols	2 00	Otis Bradford,	1 00
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Sheffield Reynolds,	2 00	John Bertram,	10 00
C. W. Holmes, C. W. Holmes, Jr.	2 00	Mrs. F. H. Appleton,	10 00
C. W. Holmes, Jr.	1 00	T. Daland,	10 00
J. L. Reynolds, Jr.	1 00	Dr. W. Mack,	5 00
W. Albee,	1 00	N. J. Lord,	30 00
J. L. Reynolds,	2 50	T. P. Pingree,	3 00
Rev. C. B. Kittridge,	2 50 2 00	John Chapman,	2 00
C. Brigham Kittridge	25	Cash,	1 00
C. Brigham Kittridge, A. B. Kittridge,	25	Joseph Adams,	3 00-144 00
H. B. Kittridge,	10	Southbridge Robert H Cole	1 00
M. A. Kittridge,	03	Southbridge, Robert H. Cole, S. Reading, Col. by Rev. A.	Emerson, 18 00
Mrs. — Truesdell,	50	Springfeld Googge Marriage	. 500
James Colton,	1 00	Spring field, George Merriam	, 500
	1 00	R. A. Chapman,	5 00
Ehjah Cutter, Jr.		H. Brewer, Jr.	5 00
David Louis,	1 00	James Brewer, 2d,	2 00
Daniel G. Potter,	1 00	Mrs. Thomas Bond,	1 00
Tertius Hyde,	1 00	Mrs. — Reynolds,	1 00
Mrs. — Nichols,	25-42 6		1 00
Northbridge, Rev. William B			2 00
New Bedford, Wm. H. Thaye	er, 3 00	U. F. Downing,	50
Oliver & Geo. O. Crocker,	10 00	Mrs. L. Sargent, Ephraim W. Bond,	1 00
Oliver Prescott,	3 00	Ephraim W. Bond.	1 00
Friend,	3 00	Daniel Kendall,	1 00
C. R. Tucker,	1 00	Cash,	2 00
George F. Bartlett,	1 00	J. S. B.	2 00
David R. Greene,	20 00	J. D. B.	1 00
Gideon Allen.	2 00	G. M. Atwater,	5 00
Edward L. Baker,	2 00	Miss Betsey Brewer,	10 00
Henry Taber,	2 00	Harvey Sanderson,	1 00
Abraham Ashley Ir	1 00	Daniel Bontecou,	2 00
Abraham Ashley, Jr. Latham Cross,	2 00		2 00
A D No.	2 00	David Smith,	1 00
Asa R. Nye, Dennis Wood,	2 00	William Stowe,	1 00
	2 00	S. C. Howard,	
T. Mandell,	5 00	E. Bigelow,	1 00
John Avery Parker,	5 00	Francis Brewer,	30 00
John A. Standish,	5 00	C. Merriam,	5 00
Rev. A. Eldridge,	3 00-72 0		2 00
Orford, N. H., H. Blanchard,	, 100	J. M. Thompson,	3 00
Pulmer, Executors of Dwight	Foster, 225 0	Mrs. P. Howard,	3 00
Pawlet, Vt., Mrs Snell,	56	F. Searle,	1 00
Princeton, John Brooks,	5 00	George Bliss,	5 00
Raynham, Dea. E. Dean,	2 00	John Avery,	1 00
J. S. King,	2 00	Mrs. M. Emory,	2 00
Benjamin King,	1 00	G. Trask.	1 00
Barzillai King.	3 00	W. L. Wilcox,	1 00
Barzillai King, Mr. and Mrs. G. Williams,	1 00	Edward Palmer,	3 00
Henry A. Dean,	1 60	George W. Lyman,	1 00
Henry S. Wilbur,	1 00	R. Ashley,	1 00
Miss Hannali Jones,	1 00	C. Stebbins,	2 00
Pauban U Audrous	2 00		1 00
Reuben H. Andrews,	1 00	Senter & Ball,	2 00
Rev. R. Carver,		Lumbard Dale,	2 00-119 50
John Tracy, Oliver S. Wilbur,	5 00 2 00	Thomas Stebbins,	5 00-119 50
		Upton, Dea. William Hall,	
Pythagoras Dean,	1 00	Mrs. E. Hall,	1 00
Mrs Rodolphus Leonard,	1 00	Hartford Stoddard,	5 00
Miss Flora Washburn,	1 00	Stephen Rawson,	1 00
John B. King,	1 00	Maj. Eli Warren,	5 00
Dea. Elijah Hayward,	1 00	M. Bancroft,	25
Dea. Elijah Hayward, Henry Cranc, Dea. Daniel Jones,	1 00	Elijah Warren,	2 00
Dea. Daniel Jones.	1 00	William Legg,	5 00
Mrs. J. B. Carver,	1 00-30 0	E. S. Leland,	25
Rocknort William Poole	1.00	Mrs. A. H. Rockwood,	1 00
Coll. by Rev. W. Gale.	25 00-26 0	Rev. William Warren,	1 00
Coll. by Rev. W. Gale, Roxbury, Miss Georgiana Ha	llett, 20 0	E. B. Fisk,	1 00
Salem, S. M. Worcester, D. D	10 00	J. A. Nelson.	50
Michael Shepherd,	10 00	J. A. Nelson, C. W. Walker,	1 00
William D. Pickman,	10 00	Col. E. Stoddard,	1 00
	10 00	Albert Taft,	50
William Pickman, Daniel A. White,	5 00	Mrs. Capt. Wood,	50
Labor Dila	5 00	E Wast Wood,	25
John Dike,		E. Wood,	20
George Peabody,	10 00	Cash,	
Stephen A. Chase,	5 00	Elisha Webster,	1 00
J. H. Peele,	5 00	J. Nelson,	50

Thomas Nelson,	25	1	N. Fisher, Jr.	50
Elijah Nelson,	50	ı	G. C. Sanborn,	2 00
Lorin Johnson, Palmer Wood,	1 00 50	- 1	Seth Rice,	30 50
		-	Josiah Warren, Col. Josiah Brigham,	9.00
John Hogan,	50 40 1 00 50 50 25 1 00	- 1	W I Gilman	25
D. A. Corev.	1 00	- 1	W. L. Gilman, J. C. Gilman,	1.00
D. A. Corey, E. A. Ward,	50	- 1	Charles C. Kimball,	ino
Lydia Harwood,	50	- 1	Martha B. Stone,	1 00
Harvey Fisk,	25	Ì	Dexter Brigham,	1 00 1 00 1 00 1 00
Dr. I. Starkweather,	1 00	- 1	Cash,	25
	25 25	- 1	Cash,	50
	25	- 1	Dr. Pond,	3 25
Asa Wood,	1 00	- 1	A. Underwood,	1 00
Dulcina Rice,	50	-	Nancy White,	1 00
As a Nool, Miss C Whitney, Ruth Fisk, Mrs. B. Carpenter, Deniel Buck, E. B. Stoddard, William Knowlton, Mrs. Asa Wood, Miss A. DeWolf, Horace Forbush, Cash,	50	1	Salome White,	1 00
Ruth Fisk,	4 00	1	Dr. S. Griggs,	1 00-61 55
Mrs. B. Carpenter,	1 00	- 1	Westford, Hon. John Abbott,	2 00
Daniel Buck,	1 00	1	A. Heywood,	20-2
E. B. Stoddard,	9 00	i	West Needham, Coll. in Rev. A	. Bige-
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Horace Forbush	1 00	1	Edgell's Soc.	100
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Charles A. Fisk,	50	- 1	I. M. Barton,	5 00
Elisha Chapin, Dea. William Fisk,	25	- 1	J. P. Kettell,	1 00
Dea. William Fisk,	1 00	- 1	Asa Walker,	2 00
Lucy Fisk,	1 00	- 1	Martin Stow,	2 00
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E. T. Forbes,	2 00		W. R. Hooper,	2 00
S. B. Forbush,	1 00		P. Merrick,	3 00
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ADDRESS OF HON. J. H. B. LATROBE,

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING.

MR. PRESIDENT:

I am here, at this time, to advocate the cause of African Colonization.

Colonization, using the term in its general sense, has been the means through which the earth, from a single pair, has become filled with its inhabitants. Prosecuted for the purposes of conquest, it made Cortez lord of the valley of Mexico, and placed Pizarro on the throne of the Incas. Resorted to as an alternative to oppression, its power has been demonstrated in the growth of this great Republic. Used for the transfer of a portion of a nation from one part of its territory to another, it finds an illustration at San Francisco, unparalleled in the history of mankind.

Nor is there in African Colonization anything to distinguish it from the colonizations that have preceded it, except in the circumstance to which it owes its distinctive epithet. It belongs to the class that is influenced rather by repulsion from one land, than by attraction, in the first instance, to another. Its representatives are the Pilgrims of Ply-

mouth, rather than the founders of Vera Cruz.

There are, in the United States, two races, the white and the colored. Brought from Africa, originally, as slaves, the progenitors of the last have transmitted, even to the free of their descendants, the memories and the associations of servitude, which cannot be shaken off while a portion of the same people, still in bondage, suggests, everlastingly, the history and the degradation of the past. Before Emancipation commenced, the relations of the races, as a matter of feeling, were probably of rare discussion. When the first ship-load of slaves was landed, under colonial rule, in the Chesapeake, the wisest of the Virginia "adventurers" never dreamed that a day would come, when the descendants of the captives would be the alumni of colleges, distinguished members of the liberal professions, and filling, because fit to fill, political offices of the highest civilization. Generations were born and died, before such imaginings were entertained. But as masters occasionally liberated their slaves, a class of freed-men was created, which, increasing from year to year, gradually attracted public attention; and the far-seeing among the statesmen of the day began to consider the probabilities of the future in regard to it, with an interest to which subsequent events have shown that it was fully entitled.

Amalgamation by intermarriage, as a remedy for the anticipated evils of the increase, was never for a moment thought of; and as the experience of all listory had shown that two races, which could not so amalgamate, could exist in the same land in no other relations than those of master and slave, or, where both were nominally free, of the oppressor and the oppressed, the idea of separation naturally became prominent,-a separation so wide as to preclude the fear, or chance even, of any subsequent collision. Hence the plan of colonizing the free people of color of the United States; and hence the selection of the locality,-suggested, doubtless, by the origin of the emigrants,which has given to this particular colonization its epithet of "African." Under the influence, at first, of such a repulsion as filled the Mayflower: under the influences, hereafter, of such an attraction as filled the caravels of Cortez; under both influences, indeed, now and hereafter, according to the temperament of the individual colonists, this colonization is to go forward unto the accomplishment of the end.

On the 28th of December, 1816, the first meeting to form the present Society was held in Washington. The speakers were Henry Clay, Elias B. Caldwell, John Randolph of Roanoke, and Robert Wright of Maryland. With the exception of a suggestion of Mr. Randolph, that the condition of the slaves would be improved by removing the free colored people, the views expressed were confined exclusively to the best interests of the latter, and the advantages that would result collaterally to Africa from the prosecution of the scheme; and the object of the Society was declared to be, "to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of color of the United States in Africa, or such other place as Congress might deem most expedient;"--the definition carefully excluding the idea of compulsory action on the part of the Society, as well as the idea of any interference with slavery.

Thirty-seven years have passed since the meeting here referred to. The voices of the speakers can be heard no more. His,-the great orator's, the strong-willed statesman's, which swayed the hearts of men to and fro, as doth the wind the yielding corn,-has so recently been hushed, that its echoes hardly yet have ceased to vibrate around us. Thirty-seven years have passed, and the quiet scheme of philanthropy of 1816 has become a great political necessity, still perfect in its plan, still adapted to every emergency, and presenting the only solution to a problem that has, more than once, threatened our existence as an united people.

The importance that in later years has been acquired by colonization, was hardly anticipated when the Society was formed. It is due, almost wholly, to the changes that have since taken place in the rela-

tions of the white and the free colored population.

In 1816, the feeling between the two was that of kindness. There was then no difficulty in obtaining employment, to create unfriendly Certain occupations seemed to be conceded by prescription to the colored man. If preferences were given, he obtained them. Associations protecting his freedom existed, even in the slave-holding States. Emancipations were constantly taking place around him. And, if at any time disposed to complain of the inferiority of his social position, he recognized, nevertheless, the force of the circumstances to which it was owing, and left its amelioration to time and events. The long wars of Europe, just ended, had kept the emigrating classes at home, that they might be used there for manuring old lands with their blood, rather than be sent to people new ones with their enterprise; and, in 1820, the total number of immigrants and their oescendants in the United States was but 359,000, and the annual immigration did not exceed 12,000 persons from all countries. Our foreign element, therefore, which has always been the most hostile to the free colored population, was scarcely felt. The condition of things, then, in 1816, was most favorable to the free colored man,—nor, to the mass of the community, was there any probability of a change.

But how great, nevertheless, the change that has, in point of fact, taken place in the interval! All the kindly relations, which so many then supposed would last forever, have been broken up, beyond the power of reparation. Instead of moving along harmoniously in the avenues of labor, the whites and the free colored people now meet there only with ill-feeling and bad blood; and into these avenues, to increase the strife for bread and add to the confusion, there throngs an annual immigration, which, in thirty-three years, has multiplied from twelve thousand to five hundred thousand, making the whole number of immigrants and their descendants, now in our country, upwards of five millions of souls. Jealousy and suspicion characterize to-day the relations of the parties. Political influences are beginning to operate. Legislation is invoked; and State after State, slaveholding as well as non-slaveholding, is passing, or threatening to pass, laws hostile to the continued residence amongst us of the free colored population. is this state of things, no longer the dimly-shadowed possibility, to men of fearful minds, of 1816, but a palpable and ominous fact, that gives to colonization, as the only means yet devised for obviating an impending calamity, the character that is claimed for it, of a great national and political interest.

The causes of the change here described are intimately connected with the proper consideration of the subject; they are manifest, and

they are uncontrollable.

The first, strangely enough it may be thought, is the gradual improvement of the free colored people, in education and refinement, which has been going on since 1816, and which, at first sight, would seem to furnish a reason why they should be permitted to remain undisturbed amongst us, with a gradual amelioration of their social position. This, however, is the superficial view of the subject.

The slave is callous, because he is ignorant, or because, without scope for aspiration, contentment becomes an incident of his condition. But make a freed-man of him; educate him; enable him to see the rewards of ambition, only to discover that they are beyond his reach,—to appreciate social and political rank, only to learn that it is unattainable; and he becomes sensitive and restless, just in proportion as he is capable and enlightened. A strife begins within him, that manifests itself in all his actions. He complains to those who will listen to him. He finds sympathizers, naturally enough, among the whites. He is looked upon as one who has "a cause." His friends fancy they have "a mission." Spirit chases against spirit. Excitement is produced. Organization takes place. The sphere of action dilates. Soon it embraces the question of slavery. The rarely gifted individual, the cause of the particular effervescence, is assumed as a fair representative of the entire race; and a crusade commences, which ultimately

involves the whole country, and makes the free colored people the subjects of a family feud, as North and South array themselves in bitter antagonism. Nor is the reference to domestic affairs, thus suggested, inapplicable. On the contrary, as he who is the subject of a household quarrel always finds himself obliged to leave the family, that peace may be restored between its members, so the contest, that has been waging among the whites in regard to the free colored people, threatens to end in the abandoninent, by the latter, of the scene of the agination, that, in a distant land, they may find a new home and work out a different destiny. Had they remained as slaves in feeling, had education wrought in them no miracles, had refinement brought no sensitiveness, this state of things would never have existed as one cause of the change in question.

The other of the causes is the foreign immigration. Its effect is two-fold. It operates to increase the irritability on the part of the better classes of the free colored people; and it is felt inconveniently, not only by those of them whose care does not extend beyond to-day, but by those also of the whites who meet the others in active competition for employment; a competition which was far from existing while the foreign immigration remained comparatively inconsiderable. to the vast country, yet to be filled with population, between the Atlantic and the Pacific, the demand for labor in the West, and the rapidly increasing facilities for transporting it from place to place, this crowding immigration disappears from the seaboard as fast as it arrives, so that the pressure created by it is not intolerable. But still, the immigration is not diminishing. Population is becoming denser and denser every day; and as a cause for the change we are accounting for, the increase of foreign labor amongst us must continue to operate unto the end.

That the explanation thus given is the true one, there can be but little doubt. Indeed, none other has been suggested during the angry controversy which for years past has shaken the fabric of our government, rousing all men from their indifference, and obliging them to look the future fully in the face.

The question, then, arises, as to the proper remedy. The answer is plain. Either the white man's prejudices must be overcome, that the colored man's sensitiveness may be conciliated; or the immigration that brings the two races into collision must be stayed; or the weaker must escape from the influences that will make this collision intolerable. The mere statement of these alternatives indicates the inevitable choice.

Twenty years have been consumed by zealous white men, aided by unquestionable instances of high intellectual cultivation and social refinement among the free people of color, in trying to place the latter upon a footing of social equality with the whites; and admitting, though the fact is not stated as of the speaker's knowledge, that, in rare cases and in particular neighborhoods, this may have been accomplished, yet it must be conceded that, as a general thing, the experiment, undertaken in perfect good faith, and vigorously prosecuted, has been an utter failure. To this point, let the free people of color speak for themselves. At a convention held in Baltimore, as late as 1852, of delegates from various parts of Maryland, and whose proceedings were

conducted with propriety and dignity, the following resolutions were passed:-

"Resolved, That while we appreciate and acknowledge the sincerity of the motives and the activity of the zeal of those who, during an agitation of twenty years, have honestly struggled to place us on a footing of social and political equality with the white population of the country, yet we cannot conceal from ourselves the fact, that no advancement has been made towards the result, to us so desirable; but that, on the contrary, our condition as a class is less desirable now than it was twenty years ago.

"Resolved, That, in the face of an immigration from Europe, which is greater each year than it was the year preceding, and during the prevalence of a feeling in regard to us which the very agitation intended for our good, has only served, apparently, to embitter, we cannot promise ourselves that

the future will do that which the past has failed to accomplish."

Further proof would be surplusage, in regard to this part of the argument.

But, perhaps, the stream of European immigration may be stayed. If it could, it would, at best, but leave things in their present position, sure to grow worse, with the natural increase of our existing population. But, who dreams of staying it? It lands, and we lose sight of it. It is the leaven which is absorbed in the loaf it quickens. We are reminded of its presence, only when we hear its axe in the forest; its pick and spade along the great highways its labor builds for us; its shout, as, from the summit of the Rocky Mountains, in its westward progress, it looks down upon the slopes of the Pacific. We could not stay it, if we would. It is part and parcel of the great system, of which the colonization we are discussing is another part. It moves forward in the well-ordered array of events, known by us as Progress. It assumed its place therein at the right time; and to interfere with its operation is as much beyond man's power, as it is for the fly on the wheel of the chariot to check the rapidity of its whirl. This immigration was delayed until a refuge had been prepared for those whose places it was to fill as they disappeared before it; and it is now, only now, when Africa is ready to receive the free colored people of the United States, that Ireland and Germany seem disposed to empty themselves upon America.

The first and second of the alternatives proposed, then, being out of the question, there remains the last only to be taken; and separa-

tion, or colonization, becomes inevitable.

There are many doubtless, however, who, admitting the force of the argument that has been attempted, look at what has been accomplished in Liberia and the United States since 1816, and then turning to the hundreds of thousands still remaining and still increasing in our midst, regret, in honest despair, the strength of the conclusion which leaves no other resource than one which, in thirty-seven years, has, they fear, only demonstrated its own incapacity.

But what are the facts in this respect? If the process of transplanting a people from one continent to another, is to be compared to that of transplanting an apple-tree from a hill side to a meadow, then certainly nothing has been done. But, compare colonization with colonization, and it will be found, that mere has already been wrought by African Colonization, than has been accomplished by any preceding colonization, in the same time, since the world began. African Colonization is to be, as American Colonization was, the work of generations upon generations; and no one is known who complains that the latter was too slow, or who finds fault with its results. Yet, in its commencement, it was a series of misfortunes; while African Colonization has, up to this time, been a series of astonishing successes. War and Famine characterised the early history of the first.-Peace and Plenty the infancy of the last. After a colonial existence of an hundred and fifty years had closed with a seven years' war, the United States obtained their independence as a reward of victory on many a stricken field. At the end of thirty-four years from its first settlement, Liberia received independence and nationality as a free gift due to the ability and worth of the recipients. Comparing, then, the two colonizations by their results, at the end of similar periods, that of Africa is, unquestionably, not the loser. And why should not the results of the future be equally favorable?

Commerce is the great agent upon which all colonization must ultimately depend. How stands it with reference to that which is under consideration? Let us push the comparison we have been making

into details.

In the seventeenth century, the commerce of the world was feeble. Now it is in a state of intense activity. Then, the Göede Vrow of Knickerbocker was very nearly the model of its ships, to which the laboring winds toiled uselessly to impart velocity. Now, steam drives arrows through the waves. The Mayflower was sixty-five days in coming from England to America. Thirty days is now the average

passage of sailing vessels, from the Chesapeake to Africa,

Emigration is one of the collaterals of commerce, not its principal object. It reacts to promote its activity, it is true; but commerce, whose great agency is to effect exchanges, furnishes transportation, as a general rule, incidentally only. There was scant occasion for its legitimate functions in the infancy of the Thirteen Colonies. colonists themselves were the principal consumers of foreign importations. The Indian wanted but little, and, except in furs, had little to give in exchange for what he did want: nor, in truth, had the old world much to spare for him. Manufactures were in their infancy; steam was unborn; and men who tilled their fields with their guns within their grasp, and hurried with them in their hands from the house of God, to use them in self-defence against a relentless enemy, were not such customers as trade was wont to thrive upon, even at the distant day to which we are referring. Very different, indeed, are the present relations of commerce with Africa, to what they were in the seventeenth century with America. Instead of a population, scant and sparse, of hunters, having few wants for civilization to supply, the population of Africa is one of teeming millions, athirst for everything that civilization can produce, from the richest fabrics of the loom to the humblest fabrics of the lapstone. If, for upwards of two hundred years, the slave-trade has been giving sharpness to the edge of African appetite for guns and powder, rum and tobacco, it has, at the same time, produced commercial relations which will eventually be the all-powerful agents of African Colonization. Throughout all Nigritia, -throughout all Ethiopia,—from the Kong Mountains to the Mediterranean, from the Kong Mountains to the Cape of Good Hope,-from Cape

Verde to Cape Guardafui, there are vast markets, which have become the necessities of manufacturing civilization, whose over-production, in its search for outlets, has given that activity to commerce which is one of the most striking features of the age we live in. kets are to be reached, that they may be supplied. This, THE TASK OF COMMERCE, IS TO BE THE GUARANTY OF COLONIZATION.

Nor is the African himself without his manufactures. He makes, in many places, an iron, which is superior to the imported article; out of which he fabricates weapons, and often armor. The chains and rings of gold of the Mandingoes are of rare excellence. In leather, the native is a skillful workman; and his loom, of the simplest fashion, supplies him with a cotton cloth, strong and serviceable, and frequently dyed with a taste that would do credit to an artist's skill. That slaves have been the articles of trade heretofore obtained from him, is a consequence of the white man's teaching. But the time has come for a wiser instruction; and wherever colonization plants a settlement, gold and ivory and rich dye-woods, hides and wax, gums and spices, rice and palm oil, exclude from the market the fellow-beings of the merchant.

While, therefore, in the case of America, colonization was the principal, and commerce the accessory,-in the case of Africa, it is just the reverse; and instead of having a commerce to build up, colonization takes advantage of one that has existed for generations, and is now increasing with a rapidity that is due to the extent of the mar-

ket to be supplied by it.

But, there is one of the relations between commerce and African Colonization that is peculiar, and the importance of which, in every point of view, can scarcely be over-estimated. The markets extending from the Gambia coastwise to the Zaire, and to the interior across the mountains that form the southern boundary of the valley of the Niger, and across the river and the valley to its northern confines, can be reached in no way so well as through the portal of Liberia, English have in vain tried to penetrate them by expeditions up the Niger, and from their establishments on the coast. But they are beyond the white man's reach, except through the factors supplied by the colored population of the United States. Intelligent, educated, experienced, with peculiar fitness for trade, and exempted, constitutionally, from those diseases of the climate which protect the Liberians from the encroachments of the people they have left, the colonists from this country may, in their especial adaptation to the functions they are called upon to fill, find another reason to acknowledge the hand of Providence in the series of events, which, commencing with the slavery of their ancestors, ends in the return of their descendants to the continent from whence they came, after a probation, which, like that of Israel of old, seems to have been necessary to fit them to become the agents of African Civilization. AMERICA WAS OPEN TO THE COLO-NISTS OF THE WORLD. THERE IS BUT ONE PEOPLE THAT CAN COLONIZE WESTERN AFRICA AND LIVE.

And how compare the motives respectively of American and African Colonization? For this is a feature in the inquiry which should not Where the Englishman had one motive to leave his be lost sight of. home for America, even in the most adverse times, the free colored resident in the United States has many. There was nothing in Eng. lish law, nothing in English prejudice, to prevent the Carvers, the Robinsons, the Winthrops, and Winslows, from being Lord High Chancellors of the realm. There is nothing now, in law or prejudice, in Great Britain, to prevent the poorest Irishman from aspiring to, and winning, the highest political distinction. But what can the other hope to obtain by remaining in America? An unharmed respectability in insignificance,-protection for such property as an active competition will permit him to acquire.-here and there a right to vote, as an incident to his possessions of land or money,-and even all this enjoyed under a constant apprehension of measures hostile to his peace, comfort and dignity. This is said in no spirit of unkindness. It is said as a prominent truth, due to the fair discussion of the subject. African Colonization is built upon a conviction of the absolute capacity of the colored race, when relieved from the pressure of circumstances, for the highest intellectual development; and the real friends of the race should rather promote its removal to a home where this development can take place at once, than by retaining it where this is impossible, perpetuate its inferiority. Words of counsel, it is admitted are of small avail, where the native soil is to be abandoned, and the hearthstone left desolate; and yet we would say to the intelligent and educated among the free people of color, that although in the land they leave, they have wielded no power, built up no monuments, it may be wise to take to heart the story and imitate the example of the Moor, and seek another Grenada, where the Aragonese and the Castilian, who have refused to treat them as equals, can no longer overshadow them with their greatness.

But the counsel thus given, would not now be proper in every instance. Colonization, which has provided a City of Refuge, when circumstances will compel removal, leaves it to every one to determine for himself the day and the hour of his emigration. It is not every one who is fit to be a colonist. Those who are fit, may be detained in this country by paramount considerations of duty. The great mass will remain while they suffer no physical inconvenience. And it is better that it should be so. Many new living may hand down the question of removal to their grand-children and great-grand-children; and even these may hesitate. If it is so, it will be because it is a part of the scheme that it should be so. To the adventurous, the able and the ambitious only, the men who seek to carve their names on the foundation-stones of empires, may emigration be counseled without responsibility. But to all it may be said, African Colonization, sooner OR LATER, IS DESTINY. The call to strike the tent and fill the knapsack will sound in each man's heart :- and when his inward being thrills with it, let him march on his way, and join the army with ? banners, the cross in the van,-the exodus of Africa,-that shall then be on its journey eastward across the sea.

The motive to emigrate existing then, as powerfully as has been suggested, and commerce being relied upon to afford the means of transportation, but one question remains,—which is, the efficiency of commerce for the purpose. It has been already stated, that the foreign immigration of 1852 amounted to five hundred thousand; and there is every reason to believe that during the present year, even this large number will be exceeded. Every one of these immigrants comes at his own cost, or with means remitted by friends who have already

established themselves in America; and he comes from a class which is far less able to pay its expenses on the voyage, than the corresponding class of free colored men in the United States,—very few of whom could not collect, among white friends, upon the instant, money to pay their passage, while the Irishman and German have, in ninety-nine cases out of the hundred, to rely upon themselves exclusively. Now, the entire free colored population of our country is but 428,661,* or less than a year's work for the shipping employed in 1852 in bringing immigrants across the Atlantic. Indeed, had the entire colored population, slave and free, been ready for removal, the 3,633,750 composing it would have afforded less than seven years' work to the same vessels. It is most true, that years must elapse before the increase of this population, even, is visibly affected; but the statistics here given show the efficiency of commerce, as the agent that is to produce the result; and the only question left open is the question of time.

The conclusion, then, which, it is thought, may be fairly drawn, is, that the separation of the free colored race from the whites of this co atry is inevitable, and essential to the happiness of both parties.that it will be brought about gradually, by the operation of causes that cannot be controlled, -that it will proceed silently, producing no more sensation than is produced by emigration to California, - "oozing," to use the most expressive term of the Chinese, when speaking of the disappearance of silver, from amongst us, to be quietly and usefully absorbed in Liberia; involving here no rude partings; leaving no voids, the means of filling which are not at hand; the emigrants, in the end. paying their own expenses, and going forth cheerfully and hopefully, with confident assurance of a happy and honorable home. This will be the glorious fruition of the great plan of African Colonization, which will then have fulfilled all the exigencies of a political necessity, under the holy influences of the pure philanthropy and wise forethought in which it originated.

The Society which now has charge of this work, while emigration, in its feebleness, still requires pecuniary aid, will then exist, in all probability, rather to perpetuate its associations, than to facilitate a process which will long since have become independent of assistance perhaps, its organization, even, having fallen into desuctude, it may occupy no other place than as a portion of that vast temple, whose materials are the good deeds of men. Be this, however, as it may; whether the existence of the American Colonization Society shall then be practical or historical, an empire will acknowledge it as its founder. It will be spoken of in terms of gratitude, as the exterminator of the slave-trade. The missionary to nations whose names, even, have not vet reached the ears of civilization, shall fashion uncouth languages to define and describe it. The lessons of the Sunday School, taught beneath the palm trees which then will cast their shadows on a Christian land, shall make infancy lisp its story. Cities will perpetuate, in their names, the memories of those who have been prominent in its cause ;- and from Senegambia to the Niger, the voice of grateful millions shall shout the chorus of its praise.

^{*} The numbers of the census of 1850 are used here.

BRITISH EMIGRANT TRAFFIC.

The following is the Proclamation referred to on page 11.

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS Messrs. Hvde, Hodge & Co. of London, contractors with Her Britannic Majesty's Government, to furnish Laborers from the African Coast for the West Indies, have sent some of their ships to the coast of the Republic, offering an advance of Ten Dollars for every person who may be induced to emigrate: -- And whereas the extinction of the slave trade has left large numbers of predial and other laborers in the possession of the Chiefs and principal men of the country :- While the offer of Ten Dollars each, is nearly equivalent to the amount formerly said for slaves, during the prevalence of the Slave Trade, and which operated mainly in producing and sustaining the wars by which the country was distracted :- And whereas certain refractory Chiefs are reported to have engaged with the Agents of said Company, to furnish a number of Laborers, and are further known to have in concealment near Grand Cape Mount, a number of the unhappy victims of their predatory excursions:-And whereas complaint has been made to the Government, that persons are held to be sent off without their voluntary consent, or the consent of their natural guardians :- Therefore, to prevent the abuses and evils which might otherwise result from the enterprise:

Be it known by this Proclamation, to all whom it may concern, that the law regulating Passports must be strictly observed—that vessels carrying or intending to carry away emigrants, must come to this port with their emigrants on board, to obtain passports—in order that an opportunity may be presented to the Government to ascertain whether the emigration be free or constrained. Every violation of the law regulating passports will be visited with the utmost penalty of the law in that case made and provided.

Done at Monrovia, this Twenty-sixth day of February, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty-three, and of the Republic the Fifth.

J. J. ROBERTS.

(L. S.)

By the President, H. TEAGE, Secretary of State.

ADDITIONAL STATISTICS.

The Republic of Liberia extends from the Shebar or Sherbro river on the north-west, about latitude 7 deg. 24 m. north, longitude 12 deg. 40 m. west, to Grand Sesters, latitude 4 deg. 41 m. north, longitude 8 deg. 8 min. west. Its length of sea-coast, measured in a direct line, is about three hundred and ninety miles. It extends inland about forty-five miles on an average. It contains nearly or quite twelve millions of acres, most of which is susceptible of profitable cultivation, and much of which is very fertile. In the parts already under cultivation, the produce of an acre is more than sufficient for the support of a man.

Every emigrant, on his arrival, is entitled to five acres of land; or if he has a family, to a larger quantity, in proportion to its numbers; not, however, exceeding ten acres. He is also entitled to his necessary food, lodging, medicine and medical attendance for six months. During this time, he can clear up and plant a portion of his land, build a bamboo thatched house,—answering to a log cabin in the West, and sufficient for all the purposes of health,—move his family into it, and find his first crops ready for eating. If he wishes for more land, any quantity can be bought for a dollar an acre. If he is a mechanic, trader or professional man, he may have a building lot in some of the villages, instead of a farm, and may be in business before the end of the six months of gratuitous support.

Immediately on his arrival, the emigrant becomes a citizen of the Republic, entitled to vote at elections, and is eligible to any office for which he is thought to be qualified. Emigrants, however, should not expect to be actually put into office, till they have been there long enough to understand Africa.

From the south-eastern extremity of the Republic, the territory of the Maryland Colony at Cape Palmas extends along the coast to the south-east and east, about one hundred and thirty miles, to the river San Pedro; making a continuous coast, under the control of emigrants from the United States, of about five hundred and twenty miles. It is understood by all parties, that this Colony will soon become a part of the Republic.

So far as we can learn, the Republic has never been called on to support a pauper.

Constitution of the American Colonization Society.

ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be called "THE AMERICAN COLONIZA-PTION SOCIETY."

ART. 2. The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed is, to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.

ART. 3. Every citizen of the United States who shall have paid to the funds of the Society the sum of one dollar, shall be a member of the Society for one year from the time of such payment. Any citizen who shall have paid the sum of thirty dollars, shall be a Member for life. And any citizen paying the sum of one thousand dollars, shall be a Director for life. Foreigners may be made members by vote of the Society or of the Directors.

ART. 4. The Society shall meet annually at Washington on the third Tuesday in January, and at such other times and places as they shall direct. At the annual meeting, a President and Vice Presidents shall be chosen,

who shall perform the duties appropriate to those offices.

ART. 5. There shall be a Board of Directors, composed of the Directors for life and of Delegates from the several State Societies and Societies for the District of Columbia and Territories of the United States. Each of such Societies shall be entitled to one Delegate for every five hundred dollars paid into the treasury of this Society within the year previous to the annual meeting.

ART. 6. The Board shall annually appoint a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of seven persons; all of whom shall, ex officio, be honorary members of the Board, having a right to be present at its meetings and to take part in the transaction of its business; but they shall not vote,

except as provided in Article 7.

ART. 7. The Board of Directors shall meet annually in Washington, immediately after the annual meeting of the Society, and at such other times and places as it shall appoint, or at the request of the Executive Committee. Seven Directors shall form a quorum. But if, at any annual meeting, or meeting regularly called, a less number be in attendance, then five members of the Executive Committee, with such Directors, not less than four, as may be present, shall constitute a Board, and have competent authority to transact any business of the Society; provided, however, that the Board thus constituted shall carry no question unless the vote be unanimous.

ART. 8. The Executive Committee shall meet according to its own appointment, or at the call of the Secretary. This Committee shall have discretionary power to transact the business of the Society, subject only to such limitations as are found in its charter, in this Constitution, and in the votes that have been passed, or may hereafter be passed, by the Board of Directors. The Secretary and Treasurer shall be members of the Committee ex officio, with the right to deliberate, but not to vote. The Committee is authorized to fill all vacancies in its own body; to appoint a Secretary or Treasurer whenever such offices are vacant; and to appoint and direct such agents as may be necessary for the service of the Society. At every annual meeting, the Committee shall report their doings to the Society, and to the Board of Directors.

Akr. 9. This Constitution may be amended, upon a proposition to that effect by any of the Societies represented in the Board of Directors, transmitted to the Secretary, and published in the official paper of the Society, three months before the annual meeting; provided such amendment receive the sanction of two-thirds of the Board at its next annual meeting.